

Message Text

PAGE 01 GENEVA 05647 241610Z

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 W

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R 241515Z OCT 73

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2222

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 5647

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE: STOESSEL MEETING WITH SOVIET DEPUTY
FONMIN KOVALEV

SUMMARY: IN MEETING OCT 24 WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY
STOESSEL, HEAD OF SOVIET CSCE DELEGATION, DEPUTY
FONMIN KOVALEV, REITERATED NEED TO BEGIN DRAFTING
FINAL TEXTS FOR THIRD PHASE SUMMIT AND EARLY CONCLUSION
OF CSCE. KOVALEV ALSO STRESSED SOVIET POSITION ON IN-
VIOLABILITY OF FRONTIERS AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN
INTERNAL AFFAIRS. END SUMMARY.

1. RECALLING CONTACTS WITH FORMER US DELEGATION
HEAD YEST, KOVALEV SAID HE HAD BEEN GLAD TO MEET NEW
DELEGATION HEAD BOSTER (WHO WAS PRESENT, AS WAS SOVIET
AMBASSADOR MENDELEVITCH AND MARESCA OF US DEL) AND WAS NOW
PLEASED TO HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS THOUGHTS ON ESSENTIAL
ASPECTS OF CSCE. ALTHOUGH WORK IN SOME SUBCOMMITTEES HAS ADVANCED
TO DISCUSSION OF SPECIFIC LANGUAGE, MOST SUBCOMMITTEES ARE STILL
IN PHASE OF GENERAL DISCUSSIONS, KOVALEV SAID, AND
CONFERENCE HAS THEREFORE NOT YET TAKEN UP ITS PRIMARY
TASK OF DRAFTING FINAL TEXTS FOR THIRD PHASE WHICH US
AND USSR HAD AGREED (SIC) SHOULD BE AT SUMMIT LEVEL.
DRAFTING CAN AND SHOULD BEGIN NOW ON THE BASIS OF TABLED
PAPERS AND GENERAL REMARKS MADE BY MINISTERS AT FIRST PHASE.
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PAGE 02 GENEVA 05647 241610Z

SOVDEL IS TRYING TO FIND WAYS TO MOVE FROM GENERAL DIS-
CUSSION TO SPECIFICS AND FROM DISCUSSION OF TABLED
TEXTS TO DRAFTING OF JOINT TEXTS. ONLY IN THIS WAY COULD US
-SOVIET AGREEMENT (SIC) ON ENDING CONFERENCE THIS YEAR BE

IMPLEMENTED.

2. RAISING ANTICIPATED PROBLEM IN SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRINCIPLES, KOVALEV STRESSED IMPORTANCE TO USSR, FOR HISTORICAL AND FUTURE REASONS, OF PRINCIPLE ON INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS. HE SAID USSR WILL BE FIRM IN DEFENDING THEIR FORMULATION OF THIS PRINCIPLE AND "WILL NOT GO ONE MILLIMETER FURTHER" THAN THE FORMULATION FOUND IN BI-LATERAL USSR - FRG TREATY. KOVALEV SAID OTHER FORMULATIONS PROPOSED LEAVE GAPS WHICH USSR CAN NOT RPT NOT AGREE TO.

3. ON THIRD BASKET (HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION), KOVALEV REITERATED SOVIET NEED FOR UMBRELLA OF PRINCIPLES ON NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND RESPECT FOR NATIONAL LAWS AND CUSTOMS. IF ALL THREE OF THESE IDEAS ARE EXPRESSED IN PREAMBLE TO THIRD BASKET DOCUMENTS, AGREEMENTS CAN BE REACHED ON CERTAIN CONCRETE PROBLEMS IN THIS AREA. AGREEMENT ON THESE PRINCIPLES SHOULD CAUSE NO PROBLEMS TO WEST SINCE THEY FORM THE BASIS OF RELATIONS AMONG WESTERN STATES. THEY ARE ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN COUNTRIES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS.

4. SUMMING UP, KOVALEV SAID HE HOPED A BASIC UNDERSTANDING COULD BE REACHED WITH US DELEGATION ON THESE PROBLEMS; EARLY DRAFTING OF TEXTS; CONCLUSION OF CSCE THIS YEAR; THIRD PHASE AT SUMMIT LEVEL; PRINCIPLE OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS; AND APPROACH TO THIRD BASKET PROBLEMS.

5. STOESSEL EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR SPIRIT OF KOVALEV'S COMMENTS. HE AGREED FRANK AND DIRECT APPROACH WAS BEST BETWEEN US AND USSR. IN REPLY TO SPECIFIC POINTS RAISED BY KOVALEV, STOESSEL AGREED CSCE MEETINGS INCLUDED A LOT OF WORDS BUT IN SUCH A COMPLEX CONFERENCE, WITH MANY COUNTRIES AND ISSUES INVOLVED, IT WAS NOT UNUSUAL TO SPEND SOME TIME DISCUSSING ISSUES. DOCUMENT CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 05647 241610Z

PRODUCED AT HELSINKI IS A GOOD ONE BUT STILL ONLY A MANDATE. IT MUST BE WORKED OUT AND IMPLEMENTED AND THIS IS NOT AN EASY TASK. US WISHES TO PROCEED RAPIDLY TO CONCRETE WORK BUT WE AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES WANT TO UNDERSTAND WHAT WE ARE DOING AND PRESENT OUR IDEA THOROUGHLY. THIS IS THE BEST BASIS FOR WORKING OUT LANGUAGE OF FINAL DOCUMENT. AS AGREED AT BREZHNEV - NIXON SUMMIT, WORK SHOULD PROCEED AS EXPEDITIOUSLY AS POSSIBLE WITH NO ARTIFICIAL DELAYS. UNDER THIS APPROACH IT WAS POSSIBLE TO CONCLUDE THIS YEAR BUT THERE SHOULD BE NO ARTIFICIAL DEADLINES AND WORK COULD TAKE SOMEWHAT LONGER.

5. ON LEVEL OF THIRD PHASE, STOESSEL SAID THIS WILL DEPEND ON RESULTS OF SECOND PHASE. WHILE POSSIBILITY OF THIRD PHASE AT HIGHEST LEVEL IS NOT EXCLUDED, THIS REMAINS TO BE SEEN.

6. STOESSEL INDICATED HE HAD TAKEN NOTE OF KOVALEV'S COMMENTS ON INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS. US UNDERSTANDS IMPORTANCE OF THIS PROBLEM TO USSR AND WILL KEEP THIS VERY MUCH IN MIND.

7. ON THIRD BASKET PROBLEMS, STOESSEL NOTED KOVALEV REMARKS AND REFERRED TO DISCUSSIONS WITH GROMYKO IN WASHINGTON ON THIS POINT. STOESSEL EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE TO US PUBLIC OF HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION SUBJECTS. US HOPES PROGRESS CAN BE MADE IN THIS AREA. AT THE SAME TIME, WE UNDERSTAND SOVIET DESIRES FOR UMBRELLA PRINCIPLE OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THIS IS ALSO IMPORTANT FOR US AND WE WISH TO OBSERVE THIS PRINCIPLE VERY STRICTLY. SPEAKING FRANKLY, STOESSEL SAID SOVIET DESIRE TO ADD PHRASE ON LAWS AND CUSTOMS MAY CAUSE SOME PROBLEMS. THIS WAS DISCUSSED IN HELSINKI BUT DOES NOT APPEAR IN THE THIRD BASKET MANDATE. SOME WESTERN COUNTRIES FEEL SOVIET RETURN TO THIS PHRASE IN GENEVA REPRESENTS A STEP BACKWARD.

8. IN SUMMING UP, STOESSEL STRESSED US DESIRE TO CONTINUE INFORMAL CONTACTS BETWEEN US AND SOVIET DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA. IT WAS MOST IMPORTANT TO CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 GENEVA 05647 241610Z

UNDERSTAND EACH OTHERS' VIEWS AND SOBJECTIVES AND DISCUSS FRANKLY ANY PROBLEMS WHICH MIGHT ARISE. KOVALEV AGREED; HE OFFERED NO FURTHER COMMENTS ON STOESSEL'S REMARKS. BASSIN

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 11 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COMMITTEE MEETINGS, MEETING DELEGATIONS, SUMMIT MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 OCT 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973GENEVA05647
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: P750014-2068
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731065/abqceexs.tel
Line Count: 147
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <27-Aug-2001 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <26-Sep-2001 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: STOESSEL MEETING WITH SOVIET DEPUTY FONMIN KOVALEV
TAGS: PEPR, US, UR, CSCE
To: STATE INFO MOSCOW
NATO
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005